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The Law of Sacrifice: G. M. Hopkins, H. S. Holland, and Oxford Anglicanism

I

It has become necessary to remember that Henry Scott Holland was fêted when Gerard Manley Hopkins was forgotten. The one published ten volumes of sermons, three biographies, a political handbook, a series of essays, and numerous items of journalism; the other published a handful of poems in miscellaneous periodicals, not his best. The one was a frequent visitor to Gladstone's home, an intimate of the Prime Minister's family; the other, a Jesuit, socially marginalised. The one was Canon of St Paul's Cathedral – “the parish-church of the British Empire” (Paget, 141) – and Regius Professor of Divinity in Oxford; the other, a curate in Liverpool, and (awkwardly, and not-very-successfully) Professor of Greek at University College, Dublin.

For Anglicans at the fin de siècle, there were two chief reasons for thinking Scott Holland significant. First, there was his role in the creation of the Christian Social Union (founded 1889), something which established his role as a leading (though still officially Gladstonian Liberal) Christian Socialist at a time when the Independent Labour Party was only just taking its first steps as a political movement.¹ Second, there was his contribution to (and formative influence on) *Lux Mundi: A Series of Studies in the Religion of the Incarnation* (also 1889), a volume which secured his place as one of the most influential Anglo-Catholic theologians then wrestling with the problems of modernism. *Lux Mundi*, it must be noted, was a book that bore the imprint of Holland's own theological vision: at the

¹ On the political importance of Scott Holland see A. Wilkinson, *Christian Socialism: Scott Holland to Tony Blair*, 42-75.

time of writing the editor of the volume, Charles Gore, ‘still felt a theological dependence on Holland’ (Prestige, 99), and four of the other authors made reference to Holland’s sermons in their contributed essays.² One cannot stress enough the theological influence the volume had on the succeeding generation of Anglo-Catholics: in the 15 years from 1889 to 1904, it went through fifteen editions (plus four mid-edition reprints). For V. S. S. Coles (one-time friend of Digby Mackworth Dolben and Robert Bridges), the book was a turning point: ‘I venture to think that no correction of the position of *Essays and Reviews* has been so effective as that of *Lux Mundi*’, he wrote. ‘I think that it is to *Lux Mundi* and its authors that we must look for guidance in dealing with the devout... young men who have lately addressed us’ (Briscoe, 191). Initially the subject of controversy because of a footnote in which Gore sketched his notion of kenosis, *Lux Mundi* nevertheless went on to have an enormous impact – the volume arguably set the direction for Anglican theology for much of the next century.³ All things considered, Michael Ramsey was not, perhaps, being injudicious when he claimed that ‘Henry Scott Holland was prophetic of what was to follow’ (44).

Scott Holland occasionally appears on the periphery of studies of Hopkins, a name mentioned in passing as Hopkins’s ‘friend and contemporary’ (Martin, 285). In actual fact, they were at Balliol together for a relatively brief period. Born in 1847, he was two-and-a-

² The contributors do not refer to one another’s published works, excepting those listed here by Holland: Arthur Lyttelton’s chapter on the atonement refers to Holland’s *Logic and Life* as well as *Creed and Character* (279, n. and 303, n.); Lock’s chapter on the church refers to both *Creed and Character* and *On Behalf of Belief* (372, n. and 374, n.); Campion’s chapter on politics refers to *Creed and Character* (439, n.); Ottley’s chapter on ethics makes three references to *Creed and Character* (474, n.4, 484, n. 1, and 495, n. 3).

³ For discussion, see A. M. Ramsey, *From Gore to Temple*, 1-15; B. Reardon, *From Coleridge to Gore*, 430-73. See also the centenary volumes, R. Morgan (ed.), *The Religion of the Incarnation: Anglican Essays in Commemoration of Lux Mundi*, and G. Wainwright (ed.), *Keeping the Faith: Essays to Mark the Centenary of Lux Mundi*. When it first appeared, the volume was the cause of a stormy controversy. For the impact of *Lux Mundi* on Liddon at the end of his life, see G. W. E. Russell’s comment: ‘as far as Liddon himself was concerned, the mischief was already done. He had been wounded in a vital place, and wounded in the house of his friends’ (*Dr. Liddon*, 121). V. S. S. Coles witnessed to the ‘suffering on both sides’ (Briscoe, 205). J. K. Mozley later observed, ‘To none did the book come as so great a shock as to Liddon... To say that *Lux Mundi* “killed” Liddon is a rhetorical underlining of its effect on the great preacher’ (Mozley, 19). Reardon suggests the volume ‘may well have hastened his [Liddon’s] death some months later’ (431).

half years younger than Hopkins, and went into residence at the college on the 27th January 1866, only a few months before the latter's decision to convert to Roman Catholicism (Hopkins was received into the Church by Newman on the 21st October that year). In the June of the next year (1867) Hopkins took a 1st in his final examinations ("Greats", or *Litterae Humaniores*). Holland, meanwhile, was only just preparing to take the lower stage examinations (in December he was awarded a 3rd class in "Moderations", though two years later he turned this into a 1st in "Greats"). As Hopkins departed to become an assistant teaching master at the Oratory School in Birmingham, their overlapping time as students at Balliol was limited to no more than eighteen months. However, while at the college they shared the same tutor, Edwin Palmer (Paget, 19). They were also evidently grafted into the same circle of undergraduate friends. According to his biographer, at Balliol, Holland was 'impossible to isolate' from Richard Lewis Nettleship (1846-92) and Stephen Fremantle (1845-74), both of whom appear in Hopkins's letters and journals (Paget, 25). Nettleship, in particular, seems to have played a meaningful (if minor) role in Hopkins' life, corresponding with him in Birmingham and, much later, providing a reference in support of Hopkins's appointment in Dublin.⁴

Scott Holland has been of interest to Hopkins scholars for three reasons. First, at Balliol he was a fellow High Anglican, drawn under the influence of Henry Parry Liddon. (In later life, he was to join Liddon in the canonry of St Paul's cathedral, where he enjoyed a

⁴ Hopkins' letters and journals show that after the critical events of Dolben's death, Nettleship's father had visited Dolben's father in Finedon. Hopkins and Nettleship then maintained a correspondence while he was at the Birmingham Oratory. In 1883, Nettleship was to write the reference in support of Hopkins's appointment to University College, Dublin, calling him 'one of the cleverest and most original men at Oxford in his time' (Martin, 362). Indeed, owing to some mistake along the way, Hopkins was later remembered in Ireland as having once been 'a pupil of Nettleship' at Balliol (Martin, 375) – the actual truth was that Hopkins had belonged to the year above Nettleship at Balliol and was his senior. It suffices to say that Hopkins and Nettleship kept alive some sort of trusting, if distant and intermittent, connection for decades after their time together as undergraduates.

somewhat vexed relationship with the dominant, older man, theological as well as personal).⁵ Second, Holland provides an example of a Balliol High Anglican whose mental outlook was shaped by, even as it resisted, Thomas Hill Green's philosophical Idealism. We know that Hopkins attended Green's lectures on Aristotle, and was there exposed to Idealist doctrines (Brown, 138); Holland, in turn, became Green's favourite student and, under his influence flourished as a philosophical theologian. Crucially, however, both Hopkins and Holland opposed what they perceived to be Green's theological modernism. Both felt the persistence of traditional Christian commitments that remained irreducible, ineluctable, and resistant to Green's influence.⁶ As Donald MacKinnon saw, between Holland and Green there was a 'great gulf fixed', and in the correspondence between Holland and Green concerning Hopkins's decision to join the Jesuits (essential for the study of Hopkins), the abyss yawned ('Some Aspects' 51). These letters referring to Hopkins are, of course, the third main reason for interest in Holland. Originally published in the 1921 *Memoir* of Holland when Hopkins was still an obscure and forgotten figure (he did not even merit inclusion in the index), the correspondence relates to a visit made by Holland and Nettleship to see Hopkins at the Jesuit novitiate in Roehampton in December 1868. 'I am glad that you and Nettleship saw Hopkins', Green had written. 'A step such as he has taken, tho' I can't quite admit it to be heroic, must needs be painful, and its pain should not be aggravated – as it is pretty sure to be – by separation from old friends'. Holland wrote back, admitting a 'lurking admiration for Jesuitry' – something that drew from Green a long, troubled response, bitterly warning of the dangers of monastic seclusion (Paget, 29-32).

⁵ At St Paul's, Holland was to suffer the 'habit of dear Liddon's which nearly wrecked me, of fetching me late at night to walk with him till 12 or 1' (Cheshire, 10).

⁶ MacKinnon's words should be digested carefully: 'We are so accustomed to the accepted superstition concerning the *Lux Mundi* school, that its members were in bondage to Oxford neo-Hegelianism, that we forget that perhaps one of the most important things about them was the zeal they displayed in breaking out of that prison' ('Scott Holland and Contemporary Needs' 113). For further discussion, see Norman, 'The Christologies of Kant and the British Idealists', and 'Ascetic co-optation'.

In more recent work, other aspects of Holland's undergraduate life have drawn the interest of Hopkins scholars. The seemingly homoerotic overtones of some of the letters preserved in Paget's memoir of Holland – those from Nettleship concerning their undergraduate friendship, considered almost 'too intimate for publication' in 1921 (Paget, vii) – have since been appropriated by scholars and used to contextualise the early Hopkins and the erotic dimensions of his poetry. Thus Julia Saville, in her study of Hopkins and homoerotic asceticism, has made direct reference to Nettleship's relationship with Holland in order to establish the presence of Eucharistic symbolism in the apparently eroticised cultures of friendship at Balliol.

In the emotionally charged context of an Oxonian High Church service, the Body of Christ... could become the overdetermined site for the expression of a desire for both passionate male intimacy and communal purity. The real presence thus became a vital bond in the friendship of John Henry Newman and Richard Hurrell Froude... [*and*] in the correspondence between Nettleship and Scott Holland... the Eucharist is described as having a purifying effect that is specifically physical, counteracting the lust of the flesh... For... Nettleship and Scott Holland, "overcoming the flesh" involves resisting the temptation to express their intimate affection physically (Saville 39).

Such friendship in a passionate form was, for Holland, something transformed by the passion of Christ, an idea that can hardly but draw the interest of anyone who knows Hopkins's poetry well. In a striking passage, Holland described his own experience of 'friendship', the 'barrenness of lust' and 'sacramental union' thus:

the Giver... alone can satiate... coming near to you, nearer than flesh and blood, with the inner power of the Spirit, so that He may feed you, nourish you, know you,

interpenetrate you... transform you... pouring back into [your soul] His own vigour and force, and love, so that... [your soul] may grow, and expand, and increase... This is the friend who sticketh closer than a brother (Paget, 95-6).

Unsurprisingly, this combination of Eucharistic and homoerotic themes has been used by Saville as an interpretive key to unlock a queer reading of Hopkins. The queer reading draws Holland from the periphery of Hopkins scholarship, and makes him a figure of more significance. But what else, one asks, may be learned by comparing the two men?

Attention to Holland in this scholarly context has been limited to some relevant aspects of his biography, though it should be said that even here not all the connecting threads have been traced quite satisfactorily. What, for example, should be made of the eerie fact that Holland's cousin, Edward Gifford, drowned in the wreck of the *Eurydice*?⁷ Moreover, once one moves beyond biographical connections of this kind, further serious lacunae are revealed. As far as I can tell, no consideration has been given to Holland's own published works (chiefly sermons), nor to his journalism. But once Holland's works are surveyed, several additional points of correlation with Hopkins may be noted. Both, for instance, were drawn to Savonarola (Holland later supplied a preface to Randolph's translation of Savonarola's *Spiritual and Ascetic Letters*). Both were known to have been inspired by Tractarian poetry (Holland's introduction to a late edition of the *Lyra Apostolica* suggests it had been read by him with an emphasis on Pre-Raphaelite chivalric themes). And

⁷ Gifford was 'the only one who can be remembered to have gone to the wheel, at the last moment when the water was rushing over the ship, and every one was flying as he could' (Paget, 94). In *Logic and Life*, Holland deployed drowning as an image of lost faith: 'each effort has been as the unavailing battling of some breathless swimmer against the loud inrush of the buffeting waves. He may struggle, but he must sink at last, and he knows it!' (LL 278). Holland later preached a sermon on 'Hope', drawing on relevant imagery from the gospels: 'The loud winds roar, and the waves hiss and foam. The ship creaks and groans; the planks are starting. How can we help being afraid? We have lost nerve; we cannot hold back the panic that shakes us. Now and again we may feel faith strong, and may start to walk to the Christ over the loud waters. But then it dies out; and we fail, we grow dizzy, we are sinking. We cry out in fear. Unless the Christ will reach a hand to us we are lost' (*Christ or Ecclesiastes* 22-3).

ultimately, right at the end of his life, in 1916, Holland was to write one of the initial reviews of Bridges' anthology, *The Spirit of Man* (1915) – the book which first introduced Hopkins's poetry to the reading public. In the review, Holland drew attention to the handful of poems by the then completely unknown 'Gerard Hopkins' (this was before the name Manley was used), and used an idiosyncratic phrase to describe what he found there: 'flying gleams' – 'flying gleams caught' by Bridges (*So as by Fire*, 111). Holland did not, apparently, find 'The Candle Indoors', nor 'In the Valley of the Elwy', quite satisfactory for the 'place and purpose' of the war time anthology (113). 'But in most cases', he said, Bridges' 'special brood... Canon Dixon, Mackworth Dolben, Gerard Hopkins... triumphantly justify his fatherly faith in them' (112). He did not mention Nettleship's inclusion, but he did Yeats's. As far as I know, this is the only notice of Hopkins's poetry by one of his old friends at Balliol, yet it has gone apparently unnoticed in Hopkins scholarship.

II

Part of my purpose in this essay is to argue that Hopkins scholars should explore Holland's sermons – especially those in the early volume, *Logic and Life* (1882) – for parallels that elucidate Hopkins's intellectual and cultural context.⁸ Holland's sermons were very different to Liddon's.⁹ Indeed, when compared today with those of his fellow preacher at Oxford and

⁸ Only two sermons in Holland's *Logic and Life* are dated. Sermon V, 'Christ, the Justification of a Suffering World' was preached on the Sunday after Christmas, 1876 (LL 94). Sermon IV, 'The Cost of Moral Movement' was preached in Oxford, Lent, 1878 (74). There is, therefore, good reason to suppose that the sermons in *Logic and Life* are representative of Holland's preaching in Oxford in the second half of the 1870s, i.e., including the 10 months Hopkins spent as curate at St Aloysius's Church, Oxford, in 1878-79. In the preface, Holland states that the first three sermons were preached before the University of Oxford (ix). In addition, sermon XI, 'The Breaking of Dreams', was preached to undergraduates in St Mary's, Oxford (170). Sermon XII, 'Sheep and Shepherd', and Sermon XIII, 'Love, the Law of Life', were preached in Christ Church Cathedral (192, 208). In contrast, Sermons VI, VII, VIII, and IX, were Holy Week addresses in St Paul's Cathedral (99), and Sermon X, 'The Spiritual Eye', was preached in Salisbury Cathedral (150).

⁹ For a comparison of the preaching styles of Liddon and Holland at St Paul's, including description of voice and bodily gestures, see Paget (154-56).

St Paul's they appear, stylistically, almost Hopkinsesque. In place of formal, systematic explication of doctrine, Holland introduced a swaying, living, moving language that expressed belief in a world of nature held together in, and growing towards, Christ. This vitalist vision of a creation penetrated through with the Divine Logos stressed the wonder, glory, and terror, of all things alive and motionable. This was no naïve vision, for in the sermons the real (Malthusian-Darwinian) struggle and suffering of life was faced repeatedly. The pain of creation was answered by the sacrifice of Christ. The 'law of sacrifice' that lay at the centre of Holland's theology made 'Christ the Justification of a Suffering World' (94). The cross was the 'fruit and crown of all this long travailing, [and the] satisfaction of all this immense effort of creation' (96).

Focussing for the moment on points of style and vocabulary, it must be acknowledged that Holland's sermons surprised his contemporaries. C. F. G. Masterman referred to the affective power of his 'cataract of words'.¹⁰ Edward Stuart Talbot drew attention to the problem of Holland's style:

I always felt that his distinctive mental gift was intellectual imagination. It gave its character to his thought; still more to his expression of it. It made his style, both in quality and its defect. He saw everything vividly, in the concrete, flowing out into consequences, wrapping itself in clothing of form and colour. It was intellectual poetry. No doubt this baffled some minds: its rapidity and flow distracted them: they were outrun by his nimbleness: they wanted to stop and ask what was the sterling value of the thought. He was too rhetorical for them... Perhaps he was better to hear than to read (*Some Appreciations*, 2-3).

¹⁰ Masterman, cited in M. Drew, *Acton, Gladstone and Others*, p. 69. Later, Charles Smith remarked that 'For sheet torrential eloquence, for an almost overpowering yet deeply intellectual vitality, Scott Holland has no equal in the history of the English pulpit' (*The Art of Preaching* 234).

Bertrand Russell's cousin, G. W. E. Russell, remembered that Holland's sermons were 'absolutely original; they always exhilarated and uplifted one; and the style was entirely his own, full of lightness and brightness, movement and colour' (*Prime Ministers and Some Others*, 97).

He played strange tricks with the English language, heaped words upon words, strung adjective to adjective; mingled passages of Ruskinian description with jerky fragments of modern slang... whereas most of us can restrain ourselves better on paper than when we are speaking, his pen ran away with him when he was writing a sermon, but on a platform he could keep his natural fluency in bounds (*Some Appreciations*, 82-3/ *Prime Ministers and Some Others*, 102-3)

The "difficulty" of Holland's sermons was, I believe, deliberate, and reflected a Greenian belief that over-clarity of communication inhibited the patient attentiveness demanded of serious philosophical thought. A sermon could, to an extent, be cryptic and paradoxical in order to invite attention. Having heard Scott Holland preach, Nettleship wrote to Holland's brother, Spencer, on 9th November, 1874. 'I don't know whether they [the congregation] took it all in – not all I should think: but it is a good thing... to have to think there is something they can't quite understand' (Paget, 78, n.)

In his own account of sermon-style, Holland argued that the spoken word needed spontaneity, 'in immediate contact with the condition of its delivery'. Only thus could a sermon achieve its necessary 'freshness' and 'fire': 'Otherwise it becomes an essay, not a sermon; it passes out of the conditions of oratory'. 'No doubt, to say this is to make Sermons incapable, except in the very rarest instances, of the highest literary excellence' (*Logic and Life*, xiv). But that was not to say that sermon-language was a blunt instrument. The following passage provides an example of Holland preaching on language:

The very grammar itself of each separate tongue is a marvel of ingenious and manifold devices by which every shade of changing significance may find its expression. And yet this is but the beginning. That language, already in its barest grammatical form, a most intricate structure, is taken up, and turned and twisted this way and that, with a thousand thousand minutely different transpositions, into periods subtly varied, modulated by ever-shifting intonations, with unwearied persistence, with infinite pains, that at last it may succeed in giving some slight gradation of sentiment which no single expression had yet adequately conveyed. This or that feeling remains hidden and lost, restless and uneasy, until some tiny transference of phrases, some curious change, indescribable and unanticipated, in the sequence of the words, attains victorious utterance through some prophetic lips: we recognise it in an instant. That was what we waited for: that is the word: no other but that. A hundred poets had striven to say it, but no one till now could exactly seize what we felt and knew. So delicate are the balances, so minute the scales with which we test the inner life! (*LL* 51-2).

For Holland, ‘all language’ was ‘one enduring and irresistible witness to the reality and depth of the communion which our thought arrives at, as soon as it touches man’. ‘Even its most surprising turns become intelligible as we watch them. Something in us wakes up from long slumber at the kiss of this strange arrival; something in us responds and welcomes and admits’ (*LL* 29).¹¹ For Holland, words provided a means of erotic communion. In a religious

¹¹ For Nettleship, as he explained in a letter to Mrs Green dated November, 1874, words ‘of poetry’ provided an example of ‘material media’ through which ‘unification’ of ‘self’ with ‘truth, beauty, or goodness’ could be realised (*Remains* 54). In this letter, ‘poetry’ was likened to ‘active self-sacrifice’, as both were instances of the actualisation of metaphysical reality – the eternal law of sacrifice. Poetry provided an instance of sacrifice when an individual was ‘wholly taken up into the beauty of it’, just as one might be ‘emptied into the act’ of doing good. ‘So that it seems as if to “realize” (in this sense) ought to mean literally to “be the thing,” and that words, whether of poetry or of logic, are one of the material media through which this unification of subject and object takes place’. Such ‘unification’ was equivalent to ‘self-obliteration’ (53-4)

This approach was sketched out in the Section III of Nettleship’s ‘Lectures on Logic’, entitled ‘Language and Its Function in Knowledge’. Here we find that, ‘the consciousness which we express when we

setting, ‘Words became, indeed, acts of the soul, they throbbed with instinctive delight, they were alive with the spirit’ (*LL* 213).

III

The language of Holland’s sermons was overwhelmingly vitalist. I have counted 343 occurrences of the word “life” in 320 pages of *Logic and Life* (not including the preface and the title of the sermon, ‘Love, the Law of Life’). The word “motion” occurs 22 times, “movement” appears 61 times; “activity” 27 times; “process” 22 times. Such vitalistic language may be compared with what Milroy has described as the characteristically complex ‘vocabulary of shape, texture and motion’ in Hopkins (171). One passage reads:

There it rolled along, this earth of ours, before the unslumbering eyes of the mighty Watcher, – His own work, His own achievement, the expression of His purpose, the shadow of His beauty, the witness to His love, having its entire consistency in Him, yet itself, in itself, instinct with marvellous forces and powers, which had passed into it, and had become inherent in it, and upheld it, and embraced it, and penetrated its recesses, and moved hither and thither, creeping, pushing, driving, moulding, quickening, animating, so that it was made no dead, cold, blind mechanism, but a warm and breathing animal, with life tingling throughout its entire bulk, – life teeming in the moving air, and flying light, and ever-rolling sea, – life breaking

have found the “right word” is not the same as our consciousness before we found it; so that it is not strictly correct to call the word the expression of what we meant before we found it’ (*Remains* 130). ‘One should beware of the antithesis of words and things; it really is a distinction between the less full and the more full meanings of words’ (134). ‘Again, the old crux, “How can I be sure that I mean the same as the other person?” is in principle the same as the difficulty, “How can I know that anything corresponds to my sensations?”’ (136).

Hopkins wrote to Bridges on 6 November 1887:

Plainly if it is possible to express a sub[t]le and recondite thought on a subtle and recondite subject in a subtle and recondite way and with great felicity and perfection, in the end, something must be sacrificed, with so trying a task, in the process, and this may be the being at once, nay perhaps even the being without explanation at all, intelligible (*Letters to Bridges* 265-66).

upwards into the endless wealth of bud, and blossom, and flower, – life straining and outpouring into the swarming growth of fish, and fly, and bird, – life gathering together the full energies of its splendid freedom into the self-directed activities of that brave animal world which has, at last in man, its crown, possessed itself, so to speak, of its own life, – possessed itself of *flesh – flesh*, which feels for itself, and has its own hungers, its own desires, its own passions, its own pains, its own delights, and lives its own life (*LL* 103-104)

The grace of God was ‘that force that creeps like a tide, with noiseless motion, until men wake up astonished to find themselves encompassed by the wide waters of Divine and mysterious love’ (*LL* 265). The ‘profoundest secret of our life’ was that God was ‘the base and substance of our being’ (*LL* 39) (Compare Hopkins’s ‘Stanching, quenching ocean of a motionable mind; | Ground of being, and granite of it: past all | Grasp God’ in ‘The Wreck’). Nature ‘felt the sway and swing of motion’; God’s ‘Immutability’ was ‘broken up’ (*LL* 1). ‘When the winds of change ruffle the smooth waters in whose stillness Heaven lay for us reflected, we are not made cheerless: we have seen a vision’ (*Christ or Ecclesiastes*, 131).

Spirit is always, by the very essence of its being, an activity, a movement, a quickening power. It cannot exist at all without issuing in act, in motion; wherever it is, it is felt abroad as a wind, strong and masterful, under the pressure of which we see the reeds shake, and the trees bend and bow, and the waters curl and roll: it is felt, sudden and alive, like a flame, under the touch of which things stir, and change, and melt, and kindle, and start, and quiver, and shine (*LL* 274)

How wonderful! This breathing frame, this living network in which I feel myself alive, this sensible, warm motion, this quickening flow of impulses, this swelling

flood of aspiration, this tingling quiver of joy, this stir of sensitive passion, this delicious movement (*LL* 139)

We... look up into the sky, and above us rolls the great sun, and all around us glistens and quivers the quickening breath of air; and at our feet the vast sea spreads its plain of moving waters, and away behind us lies the infinite, varied distance of wood, and field, and heaving hill... There it is, the great life of Nature, moving along (*LL* 144-45)

One could also point to the use of individual words to express the *energy* of Divine movement in nature. ‘The world is charged with the grandeur of God’, wrote Hopkins. For Holland, this was ‘a world charged with appeals and understandings’ (*Fibres of Faith*, 17), where ‘blessings move down from above charged with the grace of abounding consolation’ (*LL* 54). Elsewhere, he described Keble’s ‘The Thrush in Winter’ as ‘the most perfect poem’ in the *Lyra Apostolica*, writing, ‘The poem is charged with the very spirit of Wordsworth’ (Beeching, xlvii).¹²

¹² The introductory material in this edition of the *Lyra Apostolica* repays careful reading, not least for the reason that it was edited by Henry Charles Beeching (1859-1919). Beeching had studied at Balliol from 1878, was ordained in 1882, and proceeded to become Rector of Yattendon (the home of Robert Bridges) from 1885-1900. In the summer of 1887, Hopkins visited Bridges at Yattendon and met Beeching (see Hopkins’s letter to Bridges, August 25th, 1887); Hopkins and Bridges discussed the essay on Milton which the latter was then writing for Beeching’s edition of *Paradise Lost*. The next year, Bridges’ daughter, Elizabeth, was baptised by Beeching in the parish church (see Hopkins’ letter to Bridges, 12th January, 1888). In 1890, Beeching married Bridges’ niece, Mary Plow. From 1901, he was Professor of Pastoral Theology at King’s College, London. It was only shortly afterwards that he edited the new edition of the *Lyra Apostolica* in Methuen’s *Library of Devotion* series, with an introduction by Holland. The views of Holland and Beeching are briefly discussed in G. B. Tennyson, *Victorian Devotional Poetry: The Tractarian Mode* (London: Harvard University Press, 1981), 126-37. Tennyson suggested Beeching’s edition should be dated c. 1910 (125). It should actually be dated pre-1905 because Holland’s introduction was reproduced in his *Personal Studies* (67-96).

Holland’s introduction shows how Tractarian poetry was being interpreted by the next generation of Oxford Anglicans. His selection of Keble’s ‘Thrush in Winter’ for special attention is telling. It seems almost impossible to escape the conclusion that Keble’s ‘Thrush in Winter’ was also the inspiration for Hopkins’ 1877 poem ‘Spring’, where ‘Thrush’s eggs look like low heavens, and thrush | Through the echoing timber does so rinse and wring | The ear, it strikes like lightnings to hear him sing’. The ‘echoing’ here was not that of a real thrush, but of a symbol: an echoing of Wordsworth in the *Ecclesiastical Sketches*, and Keble in the *Lyra Apostolica*. ‘One gleam, one gale of western air... brushed’ the thrush’s wing in Keble’s poem, just as the ‘peartree leaves and blooms... brush | The descending blue’ in Hopkins’s. Keble, I suspect, had lodged in Hopkins’s mind, and was being made strange and new. I am further persuaded that Keble’s ‘Lighting of the

Is there one passage from a Holland sermon that best illustrates his Hopkinsesque qualities? The following, from ‘Love, the Law of Life’, recalls the movement and action of Hopkins’s poems, and his notion of “inscape”. Holland was preaching on what he called the ‘glad-giving’ Father, ‘Whose fingers fashioned the innermost fabric of our souls’ (*LL* 202-3)

For out upon us that mighty Fatherhood of God has poured forth its abounding treasure: into our souls His fullness has flowed: without the workings of that fatherly love of His we should not be here on earth at all: in within each single soul, deep below all its flying fancies, and its surface feelings, and its unsteady desires, at all moments, without pause or slackening, the pulses of that great passion of fatherliness stir, and feed, and quicken, and inspire every atom, every fibre, every movement of our living selves. Within each one of us, to-day, hour after hour, minute after minute, the action of that self-surrender of God Almighty reproduces in us His own image, the forces set loose by that Divine affection unceasingly inflow, inrush, invigorate: whatever our heedlessness, our forgetfulness, our sin, that labour of God may never falter; His affection may never repudiate or forsake its handiwork, its insistent task: if it ceased for one second, we should have crumbled and vanished into dust. No! our Father worketh hitherto: and still He works, still His compassion never tires; still he pours out His life to make our life, His joy to make our joy; still His creative fingers move about our souls, and fashion out of His Will our will, out of His earnest expectation our hope of blessedness: in his breath we breathe, in His power we move: underneath us, without fail, now and always, His everlasting arms uphold us: our very characters are only alive in the illuminating fire of His immediate and animating Spirit: nowhere – in nothing – can we sever ourselves wholly from His unstinted

Lamps’ sequence was the inspiration for Hopkins’s ‘The Starlight Night’, ‘Lantern out of Doors’, and ‘Candle Indoors’.

affection; and it is, in the sanctioning authority, in the undeniable right, of His irresistible Fatherhood, that He lays upon us the command which no living soul can escape or refuse: “*Thou shalt love Me, the Lord thy God; thou shalt love Me with all thy heart, and all thy mind, and all thy soul, and all thy strength*” (LL 204-05).

The appeal of the love of the ‘glad-giving’ Father was, Holland continued, ‘inbred into our very blood and bone’. So, ‘as long as we have His breath in our nostrils, His quickening fire in our nerves, we are bound over, by overmastering necessity, to His invincible appeal: “Thou shalt love Me, the Lord thy God”’ (LL 206). The resemblances to the opening stanzas of ‘The Wreck’ are hard to resist.

IV

To see the trace of God within created things was not, for Holland, pantheism. In actual fact, it was a consequence of a largely traditional interpretation of Alexandrian Logos Christology, a view of the world which saw all things created by, and consisting in, Christ (cf. Colossians 1:16-17). In the preface to *Logic and Life*, Holland singled out Athanasius in particular as an example of this tradition, and referred to the ‘rich splendour’ of ‘the great Greek masters of theology’ (LL vii). ‘We have let people forget all that our Creed has to say about the unity of all creation, or about the evolution of history, or about the universality of the Divine action through the Word’, he wrote. ‘We have lost the power of wielding the mighty language with which Athanasius expands the significance of Creation and Regeneration, of Incarnation and Sacrifice’ (LL viii).¹³

¹³ On the earlier reception of these themes by Newman, see King, *Newman and the Alexandrian Fathers*.

Scott Holland's vision of the world was sketched out in relatively informal terms in *Logic and Life* – such were the constraints of the sermon genre. For a more technical theological account of the same vision it becomes necessary to look to Illingworth's remarkable *Lux Mundi* essay, 'The Incarnation and Development' (a significant statement of Oxford Anglican Logos Christology by one of Holland's closest friends). In *Lux Mundi*, Illingworth showed the breadth and depth of Anglican engagement with Catholic tradition, and revealed the kind of scholastic resources the group of writers were using to inform their interpretation of Logos Christology. In a significant catena, Illingworth set out key texts he had selected to illustrate different dimensions of this theology, mining a rich vein of scholastic thought relevant to the theme. The sequence set out in *Lux Mundi* is worth reproducing in full. It runs as follows (using Illingworth's original references):

'As the thought of the Divine mind is called the Word, Who is the Son, so the unfolding of that thought in external action (per opera exteriora) is named the word of the Word' [Thomas Aquinas, *c. Gent.* iv. 13]. 'The whole world is a kind of bodily and visible Gospel of that Word by which it was created' [H. de Boseham (Migne) v. 190]. 'Every creature is a theophany' [Scot. Er. (Migne) v. 122. P. 302]. 'Every creature is a Divine word, for it tells of God' [S. Bonav. *In Eccles.* ci. t. ix]. 'The wisdom of God, when it first issued in creation, came not to us naked, but clothed in the apparel of created things. And then when the same wisdom would manifest Himself to us as the Son of God, He took upon Him a garment of flesh and so was seen of men' [H. de. S. Victor (Migne) v. 177, p. 580]. 'The Incarnation is the exaltation of human nature and consummation of the Universe' [S. Thom. Aquinas]... 'In every object of sensitive or rational experience God Himself lies hid' [S. Bonav. *De Reduct*, sub fin.]. 'All intelligences know God implicitly, in every object of their knowledge' [S. Thom. Aq. *De Verit.* 22.2.I]. 'Christ is our internal teacher, and no

truth of any kind is known but through Him; though He speaks not in language as we do, but by interior illumination' [S. Bonav. *Lum. Eccles.* S. 12]. 'The philosophers have taught us the sciences, for God revealed them to them' [Id. *Lum. Eccles.* S. 5] (*Lux Mundi* 185-87).

For the *Lux Mundi* group in 1889, then, the world was expressive of the Word. Turning back to Holland's *Logic and Life*, the theme had already found expression in the sermon, 'The Spiritual Eye'. Here a Darwinian and materialist vision of the world was set in contrast with the more intense insight of spiritual vision. For the 'Spiritual Eye', the world was 'inspired by the reconciling breath, instinct with the transfused, and penetrative, and transforming energy of God, capable of being a channel through which the grace of God's love flows out to redeem the dead husk of the withered earth into the fresh, blossoming splendour of the new kingdom of heaven' (*LL*, 153). As a channel of the grace of the creator God, each person or thing was not *dissolved* into the greater, Divine being, but was rather made *more* itself, its created individuality and distinctiveness brought to perfection.

To us who believe, how utterly all is changed! Every moment, every effort, of the sight which comes by faith, stirs our deepest self into wider, and intenser, and stronger life. Every insight into God's Being is an imperative summons of our own souls into more vigorous action; and, therefore, as we look out, with a seeing faith, upon nature, *we* are not lost or forgotten. No! the larger the vision, the knowledge, the more impetuously does the stormy fire of love rush with quickening energy from God to us, from us to God. We feel our very souls clinging closer to Him, as they drink in the light and life immortal from the Divine Presence, which they see, and know, and treasure, and worship in every hue of the heavens, in every grace of the flowers. And, above all, when we look on men, the outward, the fleshly, cannot stay or entangle our insight. We see straight through to the world within, correspondent to our own hold

on God. Each man is, to us, no mere shell of some unknown self, whose character we can but grope after, and guess at, from the outside workings which our understanding detects and analyses. Rather, it is this outside show which is to us incidental, and but half understood. It is the *inward self* which we know far better, know with a certainty, a closeness, a familiarity which cannot be gainsaid. It is with the inward soul that our soul holds high and sure communion (*LL* 157-58).

To know the ‘inner world’ of another person, in the ‘vividness of his individual personality’, was, said Holland, ‘to know him better than wife, or mother, as one whose whole being is only known when seen to be hanging still upon the inbreathing and sustaining Spirit of God’ (*LL*, 159). Holland sought after an ‘intensity of living faith’ that would allow entry into the inner life of others: ‘Our witness, my brethren, before men depends for its power on the clearness and force of our own inward vision’; ‘we must be continually testing our contact with the life of God; continually feeling after, and touching, and grasping hard and fast the everlasting hands which uphold and guide us and the world’ (*LL* 160). The sacrament, he continued, opened the way into the inner spiritual life. The gift of ordination allowed his fellow priests, as ministers of the sacrament, ‘to suffuse its grace throughout every vein and nerve of our being’ (*LL* 161).

‘We have learned much, in our day, of all that world of spiritual interests, which lies, secreted, within and behind the veil of outward things’, taught Holland; ‘we ourselves know, thanks to God, something of this spiritual stress’ (*LL* 271). The resemblances to Hopkins are surely inescapable. My own judgment is that Holland’s “insight” and “intensity” correlate to Hopkins’s “inscape” and “instress”. The root ideas, at least, must have been shared in common, and this suggests that they cannot have been unique to Hopkins at Balliol in the 1860s.

The hymn of Christ's self-emptying kenosis in Philippians 2:7-8 has been described by Devlin as 'one of GMH's cardinal texts' (296). There is a good body of literature on Hopkins and Christology – and rightly so.¹⁴ Hopkins's own retreat notes on "The Great Sacrifice", made in 1881, reflect his own interests in Philippians 2 and the "self-emptying" of Christ. But since many studies attempt to locate his Christology in the context of Ignatian and Scotian theology, its relationship to contemporary developments in Anglican theology have, to my mind, been left relatively unexplored. Excepting Nixon's studies of Liddon, proper analysis of Hopkins's location within the developing tradition of Christological reflection in Britain in the 1860s and 1870s seems to be lacking. The important point is that Scott Holland was himself one of the principal figures in the "kenotic flood" that swept Anglican theology in the 1880s and 90s. As the leading influence on the "Holy Club" that produced *Lux Mundi*, Holland was the effective inspiration for a trajectory of Anglican kenotic reflection to which Hopkins, as a Roman Catholic, moved in parallel. Hopkins's own kenotic Christology was not developed in a vacuum; it reflected comparable streams of thought amongst his Anglican contemporaries. Thus Hopkins's remarks on "The Great Sacrifice" from 1881 echoed what Holland had been preaching in 1876, that the Word had pressed on the world a 'law of sacrifice' (LL 94): 'the primary plan of God... in Nature... the plan that Christ came to fulfil' was 'the law of surrender, of self-sacrifice' (83).¹⁵ In another sermon, Holland actually spoke

¹⁴ Cotter, *Inscape*; Downes, *The Great Sacrifice*; Ong, *Hopkins, Self and God*; Ballinger, *The Poem as Sacrament*; Lichtmann, *The Contemplative Poetry of Gerard Manley Hopkins*; Ward, *World as Word*.

¹⁵ For Green, God's 'prevailing motion' of God's own sacrificial 'riddance of selfishness' was 'operative all around us' (Green, 'The Witness of God' in *Works*, III, 251). Nettleship expanded this idea in one of his most interesting theological writings, 'The Atonement', dated to 1886:

The doctrine (or *a* doctrine) of the New Testament goes so far as to say that God himself gave (and is eternally giving) up what is dearest to him in order to save the life of the world. (Death is self-surrender; all loss is a kind of death; the "only-begotten Son" is the summing up of what is dearest,

of the ‘power’ of Christ’s ‘great Sacrifice’ – a ‘great Sacrifice’ which moved the Church ‘within the secret place of His love’ (LL 287). Christ, preached Holland, ‘will empty Himself that He may enter into our longings, He will know what it is to miss, to seek, to lose, to hunger, to deplore’ (LL 217-18). The Son’s kenosis was the means of him becoming one with humanity. ‘Christ’s sacrifice is no far-away fact, to be shown and gazed upon. It draws *us* also into itself’ (LL 135). The Son’s sacrifice called for a responding sacrifice from the believer, the handing-over of the self to God, a sacrifice of thanksgiving. What was this sacrifice as it touched the Christian? ‘This is religion; this is its root-life. Religion is man’s recognition that he himself, with all that he possesses, is entirely and absolutely the *possession* of God’ (107). For Holland, the ‘root-spring of all religion lies in the intense joy of the discovery: “I am not mine own. I have nothing of myself. O my God, I am altogether Thine!”’ (107-08).¹⁶ Ultimately, ‘all unselfishness, all self-sacrifice – all this... is the work, the secret work of the Son’ (218).

According to Holland, Christ’s priestly sacrifice – the architectonic prototype of the law of self-sacrifice imprinted on creation – would have taken place ‘Even if no dividing sin had ever severed man and God [for] still religion would consist in the joy of self-dedication, the joy of homage, the joy of an offering, the joy of a sacrifice’. Irrespective of the fall, ‘There would still be the altar, and still the priest; an altar of joy, and gladness, and thanksgiving, and praise; a High Priest, royal, enthroned, wonderful in blessing, after the order of Melchisedec, ever living and supreme’ (LL 108). All scholars of Hopkins should

most *one’s own*.) I.e. God can only be at one with his work, can only make it to be truly *his* work, by eternally *dying* – sacrificing what is dearest to him.

God does not thereby *cease to be*: he does not annihilate *himself*: he lives eternally in the very process of sacrificing his dearest work.

Hence God is said to *be* “love”; for “love” is the consciousness of survival in the act of self-surrender: the consciousness of dying for another and thereby of being one with that other (Nettleship, *Remains*, I, 40-41).

¹⁶ Holland’s ‘root-life’ and ‘root-spring’ of religion recalls Hopkins’s ‘Mine, O thou Lord of life, send my roots rain’ (‘Thou art indeed just, Lord’, l. 14).

recognise this interpretation of Christology as a version of the teaching of Scotus: in an unfallen world Christ would still have offered a sacrifice that was Eucharistic, not propitiatory.¹⁷

As MacKinnon showed in his essay, 'Scott Holland and Contemporary Needs', Holland developed in his sermons a subtle and intricate understanding of the kenotic self-emptying of Christ: his 'use of the idea of kenosis serves to show how rich and complex as well as hard of definition it is' (112). According to MacKinnon, Holland's theology was ever 'a *theologia crucis*... For... he [was] intoxicated by the sense of Christ as the "revelation of the mystery", as himself concretely the key to all the riddles of existence' (110).¹⁸ At the same time, the kenotic movement of God was, for Holland, fully Trinitarian. In *Creed and Character*, for instance, Holland preached on the 'compassion of the entire Godhead', suggesting that the kenosis of Christ should be interpreted, primarily, as something rooted in the nature of the Son's eternal relationship with the Father (113). In *Logic and Life*, Holland

¹⁷ For a developed version of this doctrine, see Illingworth's essay in *Lux Mundi*. Illingworth argued that Christianity was supremely a religion of the incarnation, and secondarily a religion of the atonement. God the Word had consecrated the world with his own incarnate presence.

[T]he Atonement has often assumed... exclusive prominence in the minds of Christian men. They have felt that it was the secret of their own regenerate life, their best intellectual apology... and so have come to think that the other aspects of the Incarnation might be banished from the pulpit and the market-place, to the seclusion of the schools. But this has proved to be a fatal mistake. Truth cannot be mutilated with impunity. And this gradual substitution of a detached doctrine [of the Atonement] for a catholic creed [of belief in the Incarnation], has led directly to the charge which is now so common, that Christianity is inadequate to life; with no message to the ordinary men, in their ordinary moments, no bearing upon the aims, occupations, interests, enthusiasms, amusements, which are human nature's daily food.

But we have... seen what a misconception this implies of the Incarnation. The Incarnation opened heaven, for it was the revelation of the Word; but it also reconsecrated earth, for the Word was made Flesh and dwelt among us. And it is impossible to read history without feeling how profoundly the religion of the Incarnation has been a religion of humanity... It is true that secular civilization is... in the Christian view, nothing less than the providential correlative and counterpart of the Incarnation. For the Word did not desert the rest of His creation to become Incarnate. Natural religion, and natural morality, and the natural play of intellect have their function in the Christian as they had in the pre-Christian ages; and are still kindled by the light that lighteth every man coming into the world (211).

¹⁸ 'Holland will never say that the Crucifixion is *merely* God's way of dealing with human guilt: it is that, but unfathomably more... the ultimate mystery of the divine will, made accessible... yet inaccessible still; as concrete as the nails that fastened Jesus to his Cross (those nails and not others did the job), yet as universal as only the will of God can be' (MacKinnon 'Contemporary Needs', 106-07).

had already drawn out a theology of the Trinity as, essentially, self-sacrificing. The Father's 'very substance', he taught, 'consists in the desire, the eternal readiness, to surrender His entire Being to another' (LL 237-38). The Father's own surrender took the form of a *krypsis* that accompanied the *kenosis* of the Son. Thus, 'our Father... though he draws us near, yet he hides Himself from us; though He calls, yet remains covered up in silence' (216) – the Father's was 'a sovereignty that heeds but hides', as Hopkins had it ('The Wreck, stanza 32, l. 8). While the world of creation hid the Father from view, the Son was revealed in it as the one emptied of glory (LL 217). The Holy Spirit, proceeding from the Father and the Son, poured into the soul and inspired the Christian to see the glory of God's hiddenness: 'He enters in... within our deepest depths... He makes us His, from within our soul He sends up His cries and intercession to God; He mixes His voice with ours, He groans within our groans, He prays within our prayers, He calls from within our dumbness, he hears from within our deafness, He blesses from within our silence' (222).

Christ 'would spend Himself, and be spent, in this hard service' (229). He was the image of 'the Father Who cries to us out of the Eternal silence' (252). Inspired by Alexandrian theology, Holland understood the importance of the *via negativa*, and used it with reference to *krypsis* and *kenosis* to illuminate some of the deepest structures of Trinitarian belief. The Christian entered the 'deep silence of God's awful presence' (257). In this world there was a 'hiding of God's power' as 'God lowers Himself to secrecy and concealment'. 'God waits in unspeaking patience to instil His grace' (258).¹⁹ Paradoxically, God's revelation revealed God's concealment: 'The Hidden Thing has been uttered... and though our hold on this Word be frail; and though, behind what we learn through it, lies still an abyss of primal silence; yet something has passed across from Him to us, and on that

¹⁹ Scott Holland's apophatic Trinitarian theology may therefore be compared with that of Newman. For discussion, see McIntosh 136-58.

something our understanding is bound to fasten’ – ‘GOD has spoken by His SON’ (*Vital Values* 207)

VI

Holland’s spiritual and theological apophaticism – his entering into the ‘deep silence’ of God – found practical expression in his asceticism. The self-emptying Christ was, he said, one who suffered patiently, with ‘strange patience’ (*Pleas and Claims*, 82).²⁰ This is a crucial point, for, as MacKinnon recognised, in Holland’s sermons one must acknowledge ‘the primacy of the *Christus patiens*’ (‘Contemporary Needs, 114). Holland, in MacKinnon’s account, ‘points to the suffering Christ... as the only key we have to the inner ways of God’ (111). The world was replete with the mystery of evil, and Holland often pointed to the injustice, the seeming absurdity, the apparent meaninglessness, of human existence.²¹ But that evil was nevertheless answered – paradoxically – by the mystery of Christ crucified. As Holland preached, ‘the horror’ of the Cross was ‘on a level with that which it redeemed’. ‘A wounded and bleeding humanity knows what to make of a bleeding and wounded God’ (*LL* 100).

In *On Behalf of Belief* (1889), Holland preached again on the patient asceticism of Christ: the message of the Gospel is ‘not “through suffering and death lies the escape of the spirit from the burden of the body;” but “through suffering and death lies the road by which the body can become again the purged and purified vessel of Divine glory”’ (*BB* 256)

²⁰ On the *Christus Patiens*, see also Holland’s *Vital Values*, 137-38. For Augustine on the long-suffering Christ, ‘*patiens quia aeternus*’, see *En. Ps.*, 92.10: ‘God is long-suffering and patient, and allows all those evil deeds which He sees to be done by wicked men. Wherefore? Because He is eternal, and sees what He keeps for them. Do you also wish to be long-suffering and patient? Join yourself to the eternity of God’ (NPNF, First Series, vol. 8).

²¹ For comparable ideas in Newman, see his remarks on evil and the *Deus absconditus* in *Grammar of Assent*: ‘either there is no Creator, or He has disowned His creatures’ (397).

The discipline, the suffering, the sorrow, which the Cross of Christ calls upon us to lay upon ourselves, and to endure upon earth – what are they? They are the pledges of God’s union with our suffering humanity, the witness and seals of Christ’s perfect sympathy with our flesh and blood, the sacraments of His fellowship with us. And as we thus pass under them, as their shadow darkens over us (which it is bound to do here in the heart of a suffering world), we need not be depressed... for in these trials, and through them, we receive in our souls the kiss of the Man of sorrows, of the Prince of peace (*BB* 259-60)

As such, the content of his sermons demand to be correlated with Hopkins’s so-called ‘terrible sonnets’ as meditations on the *Christus patiens*. Indeed, the theological content of Hopkins’s ‘Carrion comfort’, ‘I wake and feel the fell of dark, not day’, ‘Patience, hard thing! the hard thing but to pray’, and ‘Thou art indeed just, Lord, if I contend’ may be illuminated through comparison with Holland’s sermon, ‘The Sacrifice of the Redeemed’. ‘He never opened His mouth... throughout those awful hours, in the secrecy of His most holy silence... throughout it all, from dreary sunrise to that last hour of blinding swoon, the lips of the Holy Spirit pleaded, in unbroken patience, the liturgy of that tremendous consecration’ (*LL* 137). ‘We are invited, by the example of Christ’s cross, to offer up our bodies to God’ (138). ‘We are to bring our bodies... our very selves... all the emotions, impulses, affections, ties, desires, hopes, fears, anxieties, troubles, diseases, losses, griefs, pains... these are our offering, these the gift Christ authorizes us to bring’. ‘The offering is ourselves, ourselves in our actual, present, physical estate. That is what Christ offered: that is what we, by His grace, may offer today’ (139).

All that I feel of bitter remorse, when sin has defiled the flesh, I owe to God... all the sobs that suck out my life’s strength, as I stand by the open grave into which the creaking cords are lowering one whose smile will never more at all on earth greet me

with its old, tender, endearing welcome, whose voice will never more again be heard in the old places and paths where we walked and laughed and talked together so many and many a happy hour in merry days gone by; – all this I may bring and offer. Yes, and the blinding tears, and the aching void, and the desolate loneliness, and the voiceless gloom; all this and more. The pain of unrequited love, of lost hopes, of cramping disappointment... all the anguish... the accumulated vileness and foulness of man's horrible sinfulness... all this that seems only made to torture, and bruise, and condemn me, so ruthless, so useless, so blind, so unmerciful, is, after all, no horrible accident, no pitiless blunder, no victory of some dark and monstrous law of fruitless pain. No; this is just the very thing, that I may uplift and plead before God. All this is the very offering, the token of true and loving homage, by which I can prove myself loyal-hearted, and so become, in Christ, well pleasing to God (*LL* 140-41).

‘Can it, indeed, be true that that which was to me as the shadow of despair, is the moment of my priestly service within the holy places?’ (141).

VII

The life and work of Gerard Manley Hopkins is obdurately resistant to simple classification. The poet who celebrated ‘All things counter, original, spare, strange’ clearly amounted to more than the sum of the historical, intellectual, or literary influences that pressed upon him. But as Martin observed, although ‘we are used to thinking of Hopkins as a Roman Catholic convert and Jesuit priest... we need to remember that for almost exactly half his short life he was a member of the Church of England’ (xv). To understand Hopkins, he suggested, it was necessary to understand the formative influence Anglicanism had on him in early life. But we also need to acknowledge how his works, even as a Jesuit, moved on a parallel track of

development to those of his Anglican contemporaries, echoing concerns with vitalism, with motion, and with Christ's *kenosis*. If the correlations with Scott Holland help set Hopkins in context, they equally help the reader draw out what was unique and creative in the poet's work. But they also beg the question of the extent to which Hopkins's theology bore the impression of Oxford Anglicanism even in his Jesuit years – an Anglicanism which was curiously aligned with Scotian themes, which emphasised the eternal sacrifice of God the Son, and which focussed on the Incarnation as the central fact of Christian religion. It is just possible that one of the many reasons Hopkins was drawn to Scotism was this: that it provided a Roman Catholic theological vocabulary for expressing religious ideas strikingly akin to those of Henry Scott Holland.

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